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## THE ‘MINERVA MEDICA’ AND THE SCHOLA MEDICORUM: PIRRO LIGORIO AND ROMAN TOPONYMY\*

by Ian Campbell

*The article explores how, when and why Pirro Ligorio (c. 1513–83) chose to link a sanctuary dedicated to Minerva Medica, listed in the fourth-century AD Regionary Catalogues of the monuments of Rome as being on the Esquiline, with the late antique decagonal pavilion, near Termini, which had the second largest dome in Rome after the Pantheon. It establishes that the catalyst was the unearthing of several statues, including one of Minerva, in 1552. The fate of these finds is examined, as well as Ligorio’s attempt to locate the mysterious Schola Medicorum on the same site.*

*Con l’articolo si indaga come, quando e perché Pirro Ligorio (ca. 1513–83) scelse di legare un santuario dedicato a Minerva Medica, citato nei Cataloghi Regionari del IV secolo d.C., che elencavano i monumenti di Roma come situati sull’Esquilino, con il padiglione tardo-antico decagonale situato vicino la stazione Termini, che aveva la seconda più grande cupola a Roma dopo il Pantheon. Il saggio stabilisce che il catalizzatore fu la scoperta di molte statue, inclusa quella di Minerva, nel 1552. Viene esaminato il destino di questi ritrovamenti e ugualmente il tentativo di Ligorio di individuare la misteriosa Schola Medicorum sullo stesso sito.*

In the mid-sixteenth century, the artist-antiquary Pirro Ligorio (c. 1513–83) bestowed the name ‘Minerva Medica’ on the ruins of a late antique domed decagonal structure, which stands next to what are now the railway sidings at Roma Termini (Figs 1 and 2). His fascination with it is clear from numerous references in his writings and in his complex programme for the Casino of Pope Pius IV in the Vatican gardens.<sup>1</sup> The ruins already had attracted much attention before Ligorio: Raphael included them in the Madonna della Quercia and in a fresco in the Stanza della Segnatura, and they were even copied in three dimensions in the tribune of Santissima Annunziata in Florence. They remained popular with artists and tourists until the nineteenth century, but the collapse of a major part of the dome in 1828, followed by the advent of the railway and surrounding development, robbed them of their picturesque charm and now they are little visited.

‘Minerva Medica’ remains the most common name today, despite an attempt by scholars in the nineteenth century to rename it the ‘Nymphaeum Horti

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\* This is an expanded version of the W.T.C. Walker Lecture given at the British School at Rome in November 2009. I gratefully acknowledge the help of Marco Carassi, Silvia Orlandi, Domenico Palombi, Emanuele Papi, Federico Rausa and Giandomenico Spinola in the preparation of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> See the ground-breaking study by M. Fagiolo and M.L. Madonna, ‘La Casina di Pio IV in Vaticano. Pirro Ligorio e l’architettura come geroglifico’, *Storia dell’Arte* 15/16 (1972), 238–91.



Fig. 1. The Esquiline pavilion. (Photo: author.)

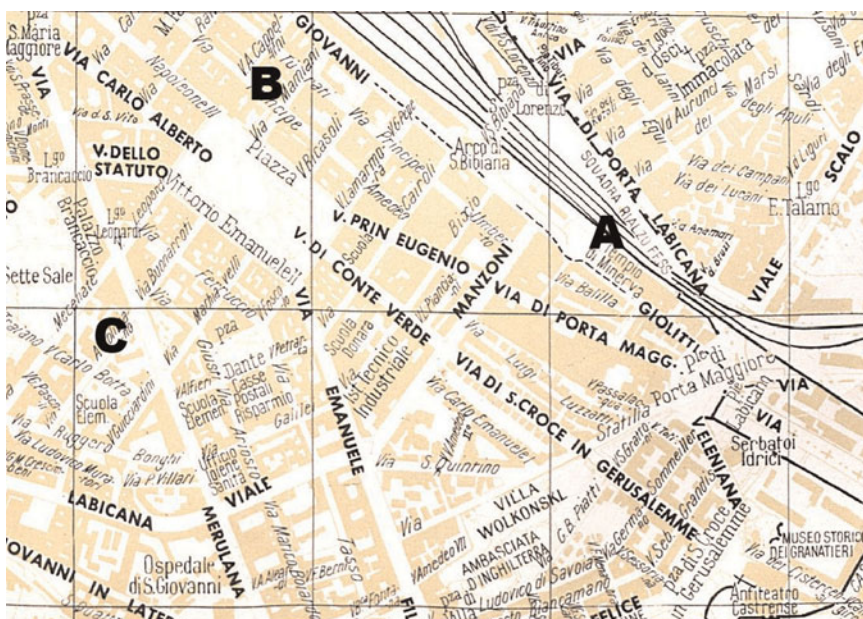


Fig. 2. Map of the area, showing the Esquiline pavilion (A), Sant'Eusebio (B), the presumed location of the actual shrine of Minerva Medica (C). (Reproduced by kind permission of Cartografica Visceglia, Rome.)

Licinianorum'. This proposal gained currency among scholars in the nineteenth century after Luigi Canina pointed to a reference in the *Liber Pontificalis* to the 'Palatium Licinianum' near the church of Santa Bibiana.<sup>2</sup> Then Antonio Nibby suggested that the 'Horti Liciniani', the gardens of the *gens Liciniana* mentioned in antique sources as being on the Esquiline, took in the area on which the pavilion stands. He went further and suggested that the pavilion was built by the Emperor Gallienus (255–68), a member of the Licinian family.<sup>3</sup> Nibby's conjecture came to be accepted until the later twentieth century, but since then it has been established that the structure does not fit the definition of a nymphaeum (see below, p. 309), and it is no longer certain that it stood in the Licinian gardens. It now seems more likely that it was connected with the nearby Sessorian palace complex, part of which is incorporated in the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, although not all scholars agree.<sup>4</sup>

Contemporary scholars thus have tended to revert to Ligorio's name for convenience, albeit in inverted commas.<sup>5</sup> To avoid confusion, I shall refer to the ruins as the 'Esquiline pavilion'. The present article principally aims to clarify exactly how, when and why Ligorio came to link Minerva Medica with this pavilion, the catalyst for which was the excavation of some statues and other objects. The nature and fate of these finds will be examined, as will Ligorio's attempt to locate the *Schola Medicorum* on the same site.<sup>6</sup> Since, however, the pavilion is still little understood, we shall begin by discussing the structure in some detail.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See L. Canina, *Indicazione topografica di Roma antica* (Rome, 1831), 88–9, and L. Duchesne (ed.), *Le Liber Pontificalis*, 3 vols (Paris, 1886–1957), I, 249. F. Guidobaldi, 'Il "Tempio di Minerva Medica" e le strutture adiacenti: settore privato del Sessorium Costantiniano', *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* 74 (1998), 485–518, at p. 492, pointed out that Famiano Nardini, in his *Roma antica* (Rome, 1666), 159–60, already had linked the pavilion with the 'Palatium Licinianum'.

<sup>3</sup> A. Nibby, *Roma, nell'anno 1838*, 4 vols (Rome, 1838–41), *parte antica*, II, 328–39.

<sup>4</sup> S. Rizzo, 'Horti Liciniani', in E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, 6 vols [henceforth *LTUR*] (Rome, 1993–2000), III, 64–6, still discussed the structure in the context of Gallienus and dated the pavilion to the second half of the third century. On the Sessorian connection, see A.M. Colini, 'Horti Spei Veteres, Palatium Sessorianum', *Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 7 (1955), 157–77 and, crucially, Guidobaldi, 'Il "Tempio di Minerva Medica"' (above, n. 2), 500–8. Guidobaldi's complaint ('Il "Tempio di Minerva Medica"', 517–18), in 1998, that Maddalena Cima still associated the pavilion with the Horti Liciniani in 'Gli Horti Liciniani: una residenza imperiale della tarda antichità', in M. Cima and E. La Rocca (eds), *Horti romani: atti del convegno internazionale Roma, 4–6 maggio 1995* (Rome, 1998), 425–52, has been ignored in M. Cima, 'Horti Liciniani', in S. Ensoli and E. La Rocca, *Aurea Roma: dalla città pagana all città cristiana* (Rome, 2000), 97–103, despite citing Guidobaldi in her bibliography.

<sup>5</sup> For example: A. Claridge, *Rome: an Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford, 2010), 390; E. Gatti, 'Horti Liciniani: "Tempio di Minerva Medica"', in Steinby (ed.), *LTUR* (above, n. 4), III, 66.

<sup>6</sup> See E. Papi, 'Schola Medicorum', in Steinby (ed.), *LTUR* (above, n. 4), IV, 254; G. Spinola, 'Schola Medicorum', in Steinby (ed.), *LTUR* (above, n. 4), V, 287–8.

<sup>7</sup> Much of the material of the excavations of Michael Stettler and Friedrich Deichmann in 1945–6 has been published by A. Biasci, 'Manoscritti, disegni, foto dell'Istituto Archeologico Germanico ed altre notizie inedite sul "Tempio di Minerva Medica"', *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica*



## THE BUILDING

The decagonal central chamber is roughly 24 m wide with a ribbed umbrella dome that originally rose to about 30 m and even in ruin reaches to 27 m (Figs 3 and 4). One side was preceded by an entrance portico with apses at either end, now only represented by footings. The other nine sides were occupied by alcoves, four of which were open, allowing access to two roughly semicircular exedrae, now just a few courses high, but originally capped by half-domes. Each open alcove had a pair of columns that Ligorio, in one of his four manuscript accounts of the building, says were of *verde antico* marble.<sup>8</sup> They probably had Corinthian or composite capitals from their proportions, and carried an entablature at the level of an impost moulding that ran around the closed alcoves, and which is visible in one of Pirro Ligorio's drawings (Fig. 5).

The central chamber is built of *opus testaceum* (a concrete core entirely faced by bricks). Probably within a few years, a large buttress in similar brickwork was added asymmetrically to the rear, suggesting that there were already structural problems with the dome.<sup>9</sup> A third phase of building is implied by the use of *opus vittatum* (alternating courses of bricks and tufa blocks) to fill in the outer intercolumniations of the four open alcoves of the central chamber, and to construct the two exedrae and the entrance portico. All of these can be

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*Comunale di Roma* 104 (2003), 145–82. See also A. Biasci, 'Il padiglione del 'Tempio di Minerva Medica' a Roma: struttura, tecniche di costruzione e particolari inediti', *Science and Technology for Cultural Heritage* 9 (1–2) (2000), 67–88. R. Coates-Stephens, 'Muri di bassi secoli in Rome: observations on the re-use of statuary in walls found on the Esquiline and Caelian after 1870', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 14 (2001), 217–38, convincingly has questioned the conventional dating of the building phases. Also still useful are G. Giovannoni, 'La sala termale della Villa Liciniana', *Annali delle Società degli Ingegneri e degli Architetti Italiani* 3 (1904); G. Caraffa, *La cupola della sala decagonale degli Horti Liciniani* (Rome, 1944).

<sup>8</sup> Ligorio's manuscripts run to over 40 volumes. One of the four accounts of the Esquiline pavilion comes from his codex in Oxford (Bodleian Library, MS Canon. Ital. 138, hereafter the 'Oxford Codex'), an album compiled after his death of various fragments of his writings, ranging from his earliest extant antiquarian writings from the 1540s, through to a letter dated 1581. The other three accounts are from the eighteen-volume alphabetical encyclopaedia he compiled in Ferrara after 1568 (Archivio di Stato, Turin [henceforth AST], Cod. a.III.3.J.I–Cod. a.II.5.J.18, henceforth the 'Turin Encyclopaedia'). Extracts from the four accounts are included in an Appendix and will be referred to in footnotes here as Extract 1, and so on. On Ligorio's manuscripts, see G. Vagenheim, 'Les inscriptions ligoriennes: notes sur la tradition manuscrite', *Italia Medioevale e Umanistica* 30 (1987), 199–309, at pp. 262–87. The reference to the *verde antico* columns is in Extract 2.

<sup>9</sup> Two of the surviving fields of the dome have blocked-in arches and two others on the opposite side of the dome are known from graphic evidence before the 1828 collapse. These formerly were interpreted as windows (Giovannoni, 'La sala termale' (above, n. 7), 18), which would make them a startling innovation anticipating those in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, but might also have weakened the dome. However, J.J. Rasch, 'Zur Konstruktion spätantiker Kuppeln vom 3. bis 6. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 106 (1991), 311–83, at p. 333 argued that the arches were in use only during the construction of the dome and filled in immediately afterwards.

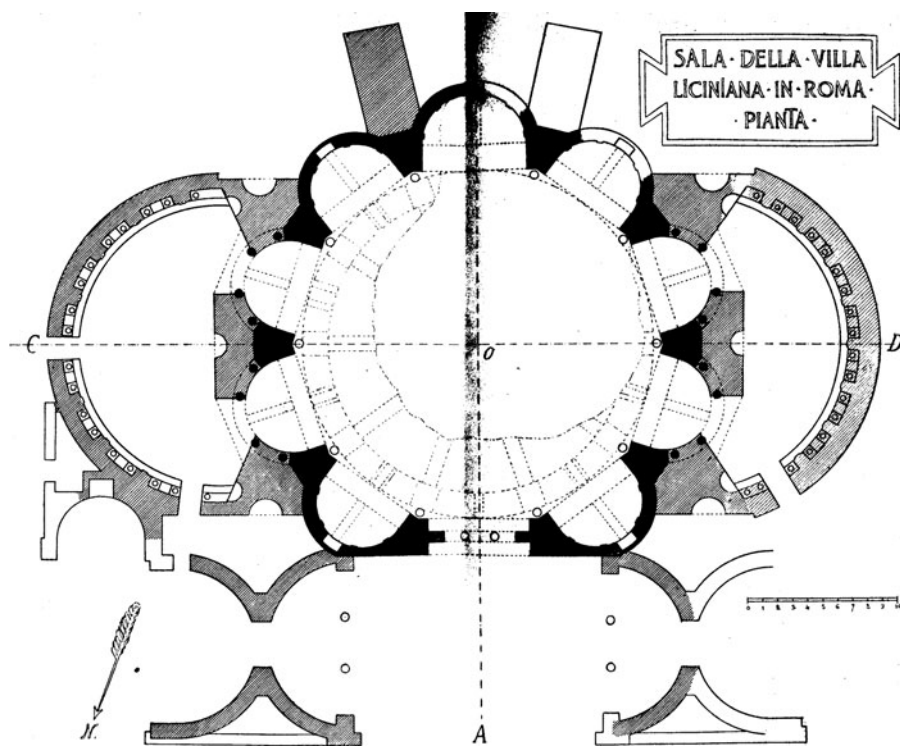


Fig. 3. Plan of the Esquiline pavilion. (From G. Giovannoni, 'La sala termale della Villa Liciniana', *Annali delle Società degli Ingegneri e degli Architetti Italiani* 3 (1904).)

interpreted as remedial works to buttress the dome, the lower steps of which were also reconstructed or repaired in *opus vittatum*. Smaller *opus vittatum* buttresses added to the exedrae seem to represent a fourth phase. Conventionally, the central chamber is assigned to the early fourth century, with the additions and alterations within a few decades.<sup>10</sup> However, this dating partly depends on a handful of bricks with post-Diocletianic stamps, used as *spolia* in the *opus vittatum* steps at the base of the dome. This means they can be a *terminus post quem* only for the steps and not for the rest of the central chamber.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, Robert Coates-Stephens has argued that fragments of statues dated c. 400 probably formed part of a foundation for the *opus vittatum* left-hand niche of the entrance portico, which therefore would mean that the exedrae and portico were fifth-century or later.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the dating of the complex is far more open

<sup>10</sup> Coates-Stephens, 'Muri di bassi secoli in Rome' (above, n. 7), 225, n. 17.

<sup>11</sup> Eleven brick stamps have been found. Of the seven post-Diocletianic stamps, five were found at the base of dome. G. Lugli, *Fontes ad Topographiam Veteris Urbis Romae Pertinentes*, 8 vols (Rome, 1952–69), IV, 111–12; Biasci, 'Il padiglione del "Tempio di Minerva Medica"' (above, n. 7), 67; Coates-Stephens, 'Muri di bassi secoli in Rome' (above, n. 7), 223.

<sup>12</sup> Coates-Stephens, 'Muri di bassi secoli in Rome' (above, n. 7), 225.

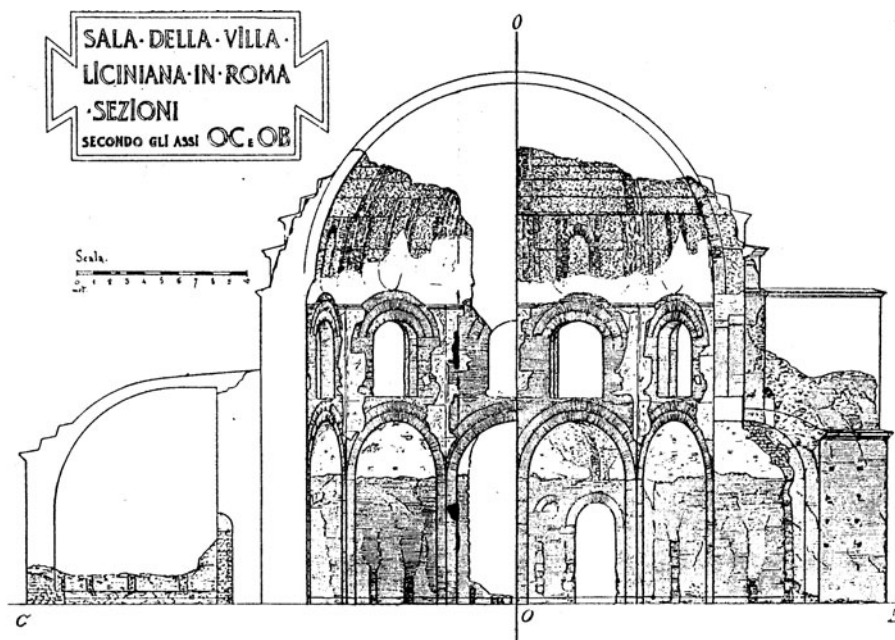


Fig. 4. Sections through the Esquiline pavilion. (From G. Giovannoni, 'La sala termale della Villa Liciniana'.)

to question than was thought until recently, and it seems safest to say merely that it is late antique.

From surviving fragments of red porphyry and of *giallo antico* and *verde antico* marbles, it appears that the central chamber was veneered with *opus sectile* up to a cornice at the level of the springing of the dome.<sup>13</sup> Some surviving tesserae demonstrate that the dome originally was decorated with mosaic, as were the vaults of the alcoves of the lower zone.<sup>14</sup> Subsequently the dome was redecorated with painted stucco, perhaps to hide cracks.

There is some doubt as to whether columns occupied the angles of the central chamber. Andrea Palladio failed to show them in his reconstruction.<sup>15</sup> However, Ligorio referred to them, and they are included in a drawing by Giovanni Battista Montano (c. 1534–1621).<sup>16</sup> Neither Ligorio nor Montano is regarded as an unimpeachable witness, and in this case they disagree over whether the capitals

<sup>13</sup> Biasci, 'Il padiglione del "Tempio di Minerva Medica"' (above, n. 7), 75–6, figs 9–10.

<sup>14</sup> Biasci, 'Il padiglione del "Tempio di Minerva Medica"' (above, n. 7), 76, figs 8–10.

<sup>15</sup> A. Palladio, *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (Venice, 1570), IV, 39.

<sup>16</sup> Extract 4. The Montano drawing is in Paris (Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Estampes, Hb. 22.40. fol. 1r). The drawing is reproduced among the engravings made after his death: see G.B. Montano, *Scielta di varii tempietti antichi I & II*, 2 vols (Rome, 1624), II, pl. 44. Another version is engraved in II, pl. 2. Both depend on Palladio's woodcuts in the *Quattro libri*. Montano is not responsible for the wrong locations given on the engravings, which were published posthumously: see L. Fairbairn, *Italian Renaissance Drawings from the Collection of Sir John Soane's Museum*, 2 vols (London, 1988), II, 552.



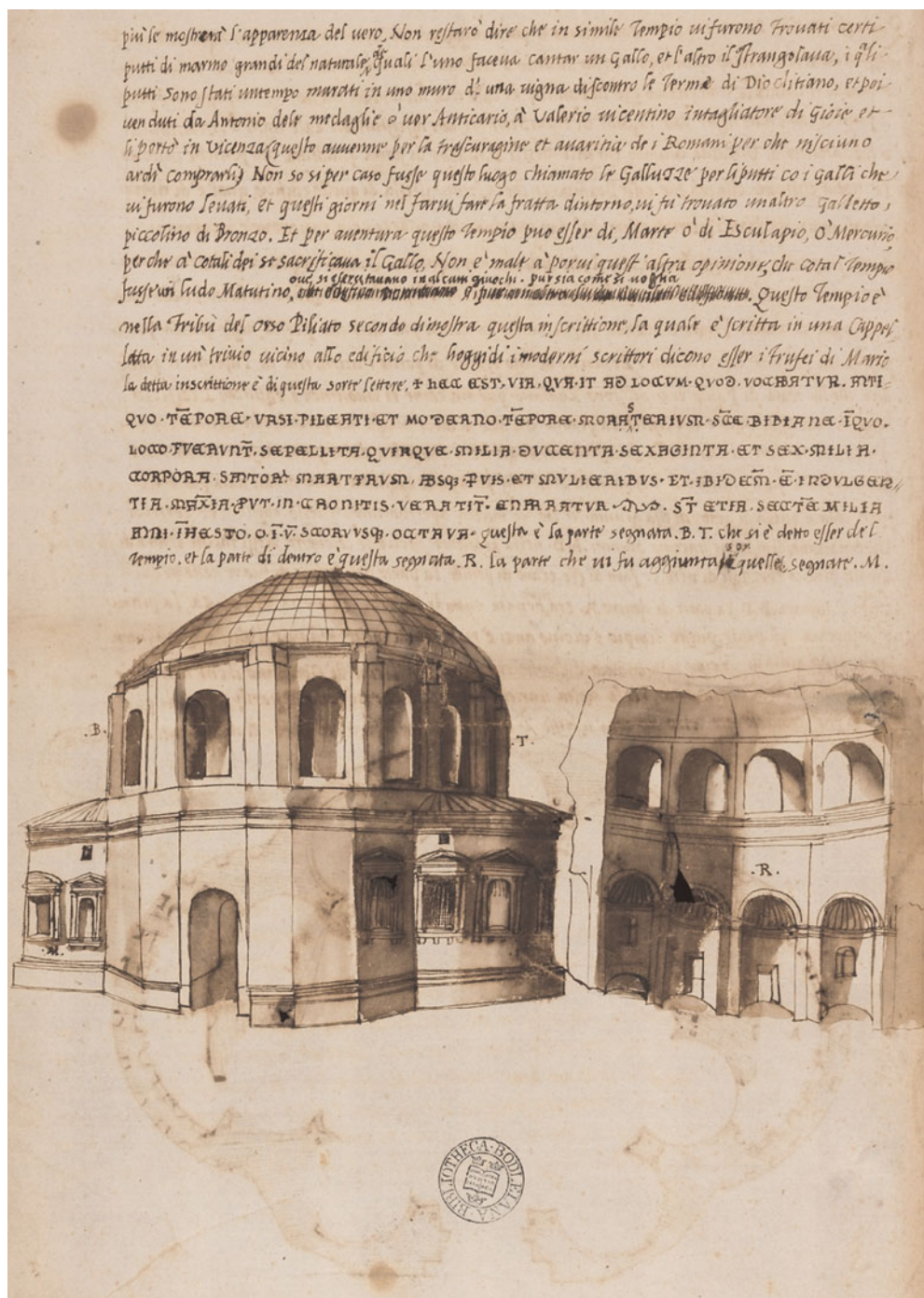


Fig. 5. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Canon. Ital. 138, fol. 26v: exterior and interior views of the Esquiline pavilion. (Reproduced by the kind permission of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.)



of the columns were composite (Ligorio) or Corinthian (Montano).<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, in favour of there having been columns is the presence below ground of masonry blocks at some of the angles, which appear to have been designed to carry substantial loads, and Biasci has reported the findings of various elements in the vicinity of the pavilion that may have been fragments of such columns and associated entablature.<sup>18</sup> Such angle columns are known also from comparable late antique buildings, such as Diocletian's Mausoleum at Split. The probable reason that the earliest reference to the columns is in Ligorio's Turin Encyclopaedia — that is after 1568 — is that no evidence of the columns remained above ground and they were unearthed only in or after the excavation of 1552/3.<sup>19</sup> Although Palladio's *Quattro libri* was published only in 1570, he had last visited Rome in 1554 with Daniele Barbaro, principally to check details for Barbaro's forthcoming translation of Vitruvius. For his published account of the Minerva Medica, it is likely that he was relying on drawings made on one of his three previous Roman sojourns, in the 1540s.<sup>20</sup>

We know from the surviving remains that the interior curved wall of the northern exedra contained ten niches, all rectangular in plan. It is likely that the lost southern exedra had similar niches, although it was slightly smaller in size and so may not have had as many.<sup>21</sup> Palladio stated that it is likely that there were columns and other ornaments decorating the niches, implying that he saw nothing *in situ*. Ligorio instead told us in one place that the niches were framed with some colonnettes, some of black and white granite and others of porphyry, while elsewhere he claimed them to have been of Charystian marble, yellow veined with red, and spirally fluted.<sup>22</sup>

Little is known of the exterior appearance of the Esquiline pavilion. Ligorio's reconstruction in the Oxford Codex shows small niches on the outer walls of the exedrae, encased in aedicules with colonnettes and alternate triangular and segmental pediments (Figs 5 and 6), while Palladio's plan has much larger niches extending to the ground.<sup>23</sup> In the latter case one would expect some evidence to have remained in the footings for the exedrae, but this is not apparent on the ground, although something similar appears in later engravings

<sup>17</sup> See Extract 4, and Montano, *Scielta di varii tempietti* (above, n. 16), II, pl. 44.

<sup>18</sup> Biasci, 'Il padiglione del "Tempio di Minerva Medica"' (above, n. 7), 78–9.

<sup>19</sup> See below, p. 317. The second edition of Lucio Fauno's *Delle antichità della città di Roma* (Venice, 1552), fol. 111r, described the pavilion as Ionic, without specifying what features in particular made it Ionic. The first edition in 1548 (fols 109r–110r) omitted this detail.

<sup>20</sup> G. Zorzi, *I disegni delle antichità di Andrea Palladio* (Vicenza, 1959), 17–22.

<sup>21</sup> Renaissance drawings always show the exedrae as equal in size. The number of niches varies and they usually are alternately rectangular and semicircular in plan: see I. Campbell, *Reconstructions of Temples Made in Rome from 1450–1600* (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1985), 269–301, for a full discussion of the Renaissance drawings.

<sup>22</sup> Extracts 1 and 2. The absence of extant fragments prevents corroboration of either of Ligorio's accounts. Extract 1 may be more credible, given that it was written while he was still living in Rome.

<sup>23</sup> Palladio, *Quattro libri* (above, n. 15), IV, 40.

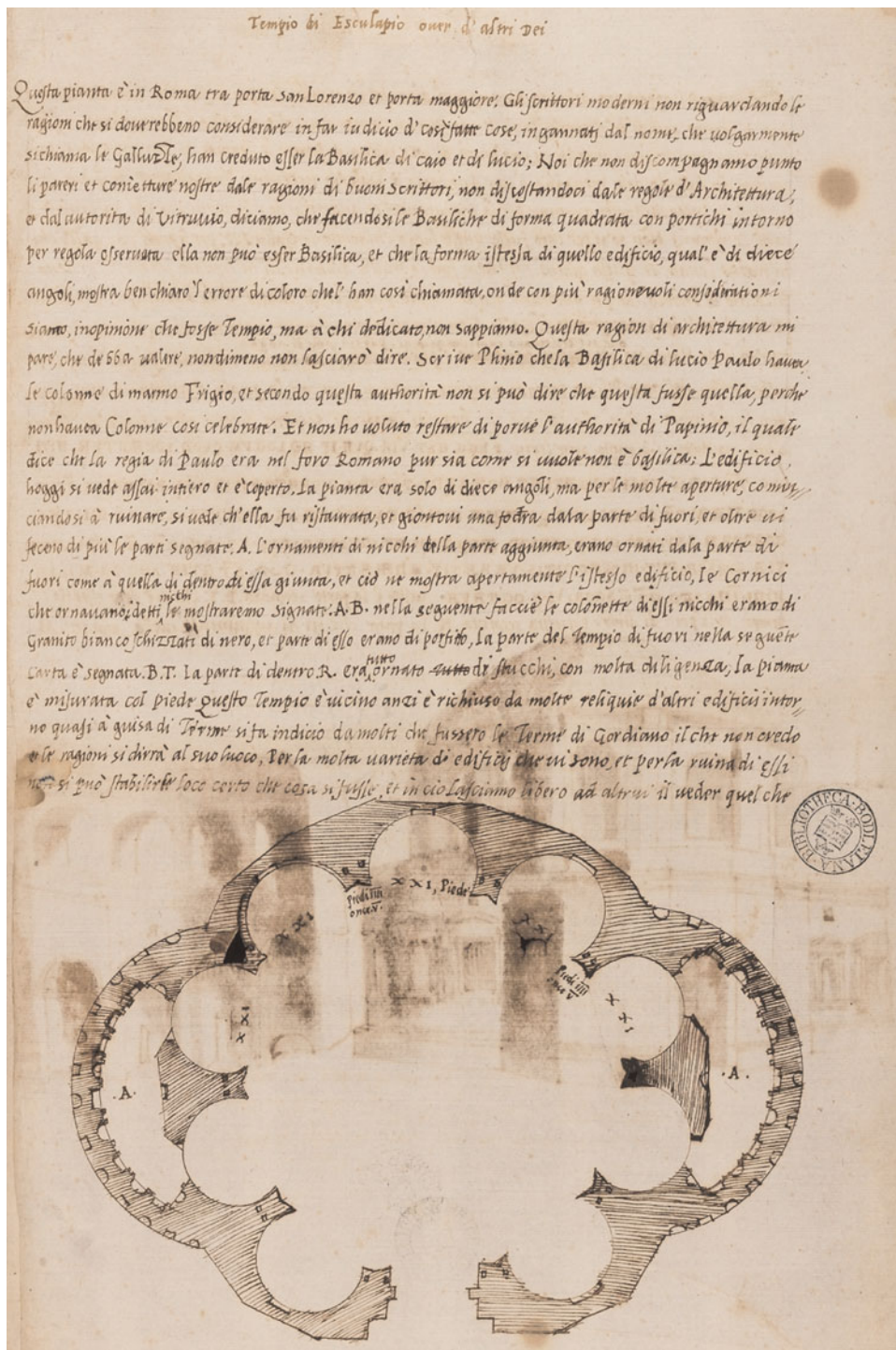
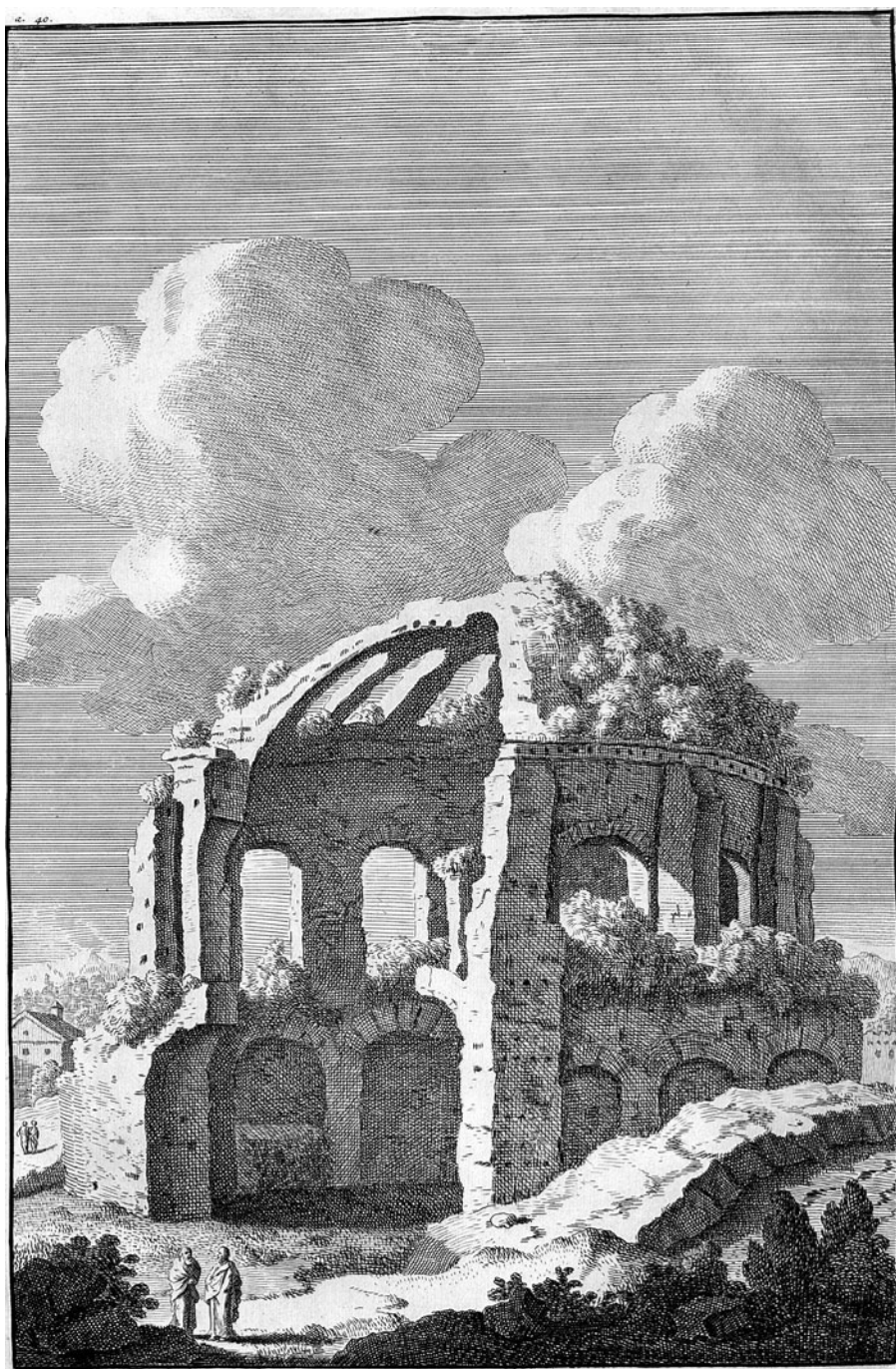


Fig. 6. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Canon. Ital. 138, fol. 26r: plan. (Reproduced by the kind permission of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.)





## LA BASILIQUE de CAIUS & de LUCIUS

Fig. 7. B. d'Overbeke, *Les restes de l'ancienne Rome*, vol. 1, pl. 77: view.  
(Reproduced by kind permission of the Bibliotheca Hertziana–Max Planck Institut  
für Kunstgeschichte.)

such as that by Bonaventure d'Overbeke (1660–1706) (Fig. 7). If there were indeed large external niches, the visual effect must have been rather like Filippo Brunelleschi's exedrae on the Duomo in Florence, buttressing the dome, which itself may show the influence of the pavilion in its structure.<sup>24</sup>

Although there is surviving evidence that there was a supply of water to the building, it now generally is agreed that it cannot be classed as a nymphaeum, but is rather a *diaeta*, an autonomous pavilion within the gardens of a villa.<sup>25</sup> As such it stands near the end of a tradition of stately pleasure domes stretching from the so-called Temple of Mercury at Baia (Augustan or early Julio-Claudian), through Nero's octagonal dining-room in the Golden House, various pavilions at Hadrian's Villa, the *caldarium* of the Baths of Caracalla, and possibly the mysterious structure that stood on the Pincio until the late sixteenth century.<sup>26</sup>

## THE NAME

As noted in the introduction, the real name of the pavilion is not known. The earliest firm name for the ruins is found in Flavio Biondo's *Roma Instaurata*, written in the 1440s, where he said they were commonly called the 'Thermae Galluttii'.<sup>27</sup> The name had occurred already as 'Terme de Caluce' next to the Sessorian Palace in fourteenth-century redactions of the standard medieval guide to Rome, the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, but scholars have held back from

<sup>24</sup> B. d'Overbeke, *Les restes de l'ancienne Rome, recherchez avec soin, mesurez, dessinez sur les lieux, & gravez par feu Bonaventure d'Overbeke. Imprimé aux dépens de Michel d'Overbeke en 1709*, 3 vols (reprinted The Hague, 1763), I, pl. 77. Montano included large external niches but almost certainly was depending on Palladio. The possible influence of the dome of the Esquiline pavilion on Brunelleschi's dome was noted by R.J. Mainstone, 'Le origini della concezione strutturale della cupola di S. Maria del Fiore', in *Filippo Brunelleschi: la sua opera e il suo tempo (Acts of the International Congress on Brunelleschian Studies, Florence 1977)*, 2 vols (Florence, 1980), II, 883–92, at pp. 890 and 892, n. 23.

<sup>25</sup> Biasci, 'Manoscritti, disegni, foto' (above, n. 7), 148–62, 172–4; Biasci, 'Il padiglione del "Tempio di Minerva Medica"' (above, n. 7), 79–87. Ligorio referred to two fountains (Extract 4). Giovanni Battista Nolli (1701–56) mentioned a decagonal fountain 'presentemente' ('currently') in the middle of the central chamber: see G.B. de' Rossi, 'Note di ruderi e monumenti antichi prese da G.B. Nolli nel delineare la pianta di Roma conservate nell'Archivio Vaticano', *Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto* 4 (1883), 153–84, at p. 177, and S. Borsi, *Roma di Benedetto XIV: la pianta di Giovanni Battista Nolli, 1748* (Rome, 1993), 382. This would seem to imply that the fountain was modern. However, a plan of the pavilion by a draughtsman of the Raphael circle, dating from c. 1520, has a decagon at the centre. This might be interpreted as a fountain, although it is more likely to represent part of the decoration of the dome, along with adjacent panels to the left: Chatsworth, Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, Album 36, fol. 17r. For a discussion of the meaning of *diaeta*, see A.A. Witte, *The Artful Hermitage: the Palazzetto Farnese as a Counter-reformation Diaeta* (Rome, 2008), 44.

<sup>26</sup> See I. Campbell and A. Nesselrath, 'Templum Solis, Templum Fortunae, Templum Neptuni. Un problème de plan', in *Academie de France à Rome: la Villa Médicis*, 3 vols (Rome, 1991), II, 41–53.

<sup>27</sup> F. Biondo, *De Roma Instaurata Libri Tres* II.24 (Turin, 1527), fol. 19.



identifying it as the Esquiline pavilion.<sup>28</sup> We can be certain that Biondo was referring to the pavilion, because he made specific mention of the dome, saying it was almost complete at that date and in Rome second in size only to that of the Pantheon. However, he dismissed the idea that the ruins of the pavilion belonged to baths. He argued instead that ‘Galluttii is a corruption of the names Gaius and Lucius, Augustus’s grandsons, and that the pavilion was the Basilica named after them, to which Suetonius refers, on the grounds that ‘Galluttii’ is a corruption of their names.<sup>29</sup> *Roma Instaurata* was the earliest comprehensive topographical treatise on ancient Rome, by a humanist of the first rank, and as such established the basic methodology. Biondo scoured sources, chiefly literary, but sometimes coins, sculptures, inscriptions, for example, and tried to link the structures described or depicted with the surviving remains, sometimes because of similarity of form (as when he identified the round temple by the Tiber as the Temple of Vesta, because the latter was known to be round from literary and numismatic sources) or name. The latter method sometimes proved reliable, as when he connected the Ponte Molle with the Pons Milvius, but often, in the absence of other evidence, led to wild errors, as the identification of the pavilion with the Basilica of Gaius and Lucius exemplifies.

Biondo’s chief failing was overenthusiasm for linking imposing ruins with buildings prominent in antique literature. Nevertheless, partly because of his authority, and partly because later Renaissance topographers were similarly educated and shared the same faith in spurious etymologies, his identification of the ruins as the Basilica of Gaius and Lucius went unchallenged in literature for over a century.<sup>30</sup> Significantly, however, on no Renaissance drawing was it called a basilica, and it was Ligorio who dealt Biondo’s identification the death blow.<sup>31</sup> Ligorio, who was primarily an artist, was to some extent free of the prejudices of contemporary conventionally-trained scholars, in particular their overreliance on the etymological method of explanation. Thus, in his *Paradosse*, a polemical topographical work challenging commonly-held assumptions about various monuments, he identified the ‘Galluce’ as a temple and pointed out that

<sup>28</sup> See Guidobaldi, ‘Il ‘Tempio di Minerva Medica’ (above, n. 2), 488, and the *De Mirabilibus Civitatis Romae* published in R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti, *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, 4 vols (Rome, 1940–53), III, 184. H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, 2 vols in 4 (Berlin, 1871–1907), II, 130–1, asserted that it was impossible that the ‘thermas ad Caluce’ could refer to the Esquiline pavilion because they were too far from the Sessorian Palace and suggested instead ruins immediately adjacent to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. Guidobaldi, ‘Il ‘Tempio di Minerva Medica’ (above, n. 2), 500–8, refuted that argument.

<sup>29</sup> Biondo, *Roma Instaurata* (above, n. 27), fol. 19, and Suetonius, *Augustus* 29. See also Guidobaldi, ‘Il ‘Tempio di Minerva Medica’ (above, n. 2), 489.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example: F. Albertini, *Opusculum de Mirabilibus Veteris ac Nova Urbis Romae*, (Rome, 1510) [sig. Fii] (Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice topografico* (above, n. 28), IV, 472–3); A. Fulvio, *Antiquitates Urbis* (Rome, 1527), fol. 25v; B. Marliano, *Urbis Romae Topographia* (Rome, 1544), 82; and L. Fauno, *Delle antichità della città di Roma* (Rome, 1552), fol. 111v.

<sup>31</sup> For a discussion of Italian Renaissance drawings of the pavilion, see Campbell, *Reconstructions of Temples* (above, n. 21), I, 269–302.

Vitruvius described basilicas as rectangular not decagonal. He added that no classical author put the basilica on the Esquiline, and that the finding of inscriptions near the church of Santa Maria Egiziaca proved that it was the basilica.<sup>32</sup> This church is in fact the small rectangular temple by the Tiber, now recognized by scholars as the Temple of Portunus. A drawing by Ligorio at Windsor shows the temple with two tablets inscribed to Gaius and Lucius, which must be those to which Ligorio referred.<sup>33</sup> Ligorio was not the first to have called the Esquiline pavilion a temple. Giuliano da Sangallo (c. 1443–1516) labelled a drawing of it 'uno tempio di Chaio Luzio' around 1500, and there is a strong likelihood that Leon Battista Alberti (1404–72) already regarded it as a temple in the 1440s, since in *De Re Aedificatoria* he stated that the ancients had decagonal temples, and the pavilion was the only extant antique decagonal structure.<sup>34</sup> This belief is part of the general Renaissance tendency to regard any centrally-planned antique building as a temple, but why should Ligorio want it to be dedicated to Minerva Medica in particular?

The fourth-century AD Regionary Catalogue, surviving in two redactions known as the *Curiosum Urbis Romae* and the *Notitia Urbis Romae*, lists the major buildings and monuments in the fourteen regions of ancient Rome. Among those in the fifth region, the Esquiline, occurs 'Minerva Medica'.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>32</sup> P. Ligorio, *Libro di M. Pyrrho Ligorio Napolitano, delle antichità nel quale si tratta de' circi, theatri, e anfiteatri. Con le Paradosse del medesimo autore quae confutano la comune opinione sopra varii luoghi della città di Roma* (Venice, 1553), fols 39v–40r. Online edition edited by M. Daly Davis (Heidelberg, 2008): <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2008/562/> (last accessed 12.07.2011). 'Tacerò io, che essi dicono, che quel Tempio decagono, che è su l'estremo dell'Esquilie verso la via Prenestina tra la vigna di M. Francesco d'Aspra, et di M. Cosimo medico, è la Basilica di Caio, et di Lucio: et nondimeno Vitruvio describe la forma della Basilica non in forma Decagona, ma quadrata ò dupla ò sesquialtera, et col suo peripteros intorno, cio è circondata di colonne: senza che non si trova autore, che dica, che la Basilica di Caio, et di Lucio fosse da Augusto edificata in quella parte, si come à suo luogo si dirà, et pur non si vergognano d'allegar Suetonio in confirmation della lor falsa opinione: il quale se ben parla della Basilica di Caio, et di Lucio, et non dice però in che parte ella si fosse. Ma hora per gratia di Dio si sono scoperte iscrizioni che dimostrano esser la detta Basilica quel Tempio di santa Maria Egiziaca presso 'l ponte Senatorio, ò vogliamo dir di santa Maria. Del cui edificio parliamo dove sono disegnate le cose antiche.'

In the Oxford Codex (fol. 31r), discussing basilicas in general, he stated 'Gli antichi edificorono le basiliche a guisa de tempj et de forma quadra ...'. See C. Occhipinti, *Pirro Ligorio e la storia cristiana di Roma da Costantino all'Umanesimo* (Pisa, 2007), 20.

<sup>33</sup> I. Campbell, *Ancient Roman Topography and Architecture (The Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo: Series A — Antiquities and Architecture, Part 9)*, 3 vols (London, 2004), I, 216–18, no. 65. The inscriptions are genuine, *CIL* VI 1 897 and 898. In the *Paradosse* (fol. 45v), Ligorio said 'Percioche essendosi cavato l'anno passato in questo luogo s'è trovato per lettere, che v'erano intagliate, che questa [the Temple of Portunus] era la Basilica di Caio et di Lucio ...', which allows us to pinpoint their unearthing to 1552.

<sup>34</sup> Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [henceforth BAV], Cod. Barb. Lat. 4424, fol. 8r, reproduced in C. Huelsen, *Il libro di Giuliano da Sangallo: Codice Barberiniano Latino 4424*, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1910) (reissued Vatican City, 1984), as fol. 6r. L.B. Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria*, book 7, ch. 4, ed. G. Orlandi with P. Portoghesi, 2 vols (Milan, 1966), II, 551.

<sup>35</sup> See Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice topografico* (above, n. 28), I, 106, 170.

Since 1887 the name has been linked to a site about a kilometre southwest of the pavilion where, during the construction of via Carlo Botta, a large deposit of votive offerings was unearthed, including statuettes of Minerva and a fragment of a lamp with an inscription to Minerva (Fig. 2, C).<sup>36</sup>

Before Ligorio no topographer attempted to identify the Minerva Medica with a particular site, and, significantly, he himself did not at first link it with the Esquiline pavilion. In the Oxford Codex, some of which dates from the late 1540s, is a plan of a totally unrelated and unknown structure labelled 'Minerva Medica', with no indication of its whereabouts.<sup>37</sup> But on the previous folio we find two plans of the Esquiline pavilion. The first is on the recto labelled 'Tempio', coupled with a rejection of the opinion of 'modern writers' that it was the Basilica of Gaius and Lucius (Fig. 8).<sup>38</sup> The second, on the verso, is unaccompanied by any text (Fig. 9). Its chief interest is that Ligorio distinguished between the two chief phases of building by shading the masonry of the central chamber and representing the exedrae and portico with dotted outlines. The pavilion makes a third appearance later in the album, with a plan and reconstructions of the interior and exterior, accompanied by the heading 'Tempio di Esculapio over d'altri dei', and a long text, transcribed here as Extract 1, which discusses the building phases (Figs 5 and 6).

This text, after first dismissing the identification of the pavilion with the Basilica of Gaius and Lucius, because of its form, goes on to deny that it could be the Basilica Aemilia, because of the absence of columns of Phrygian marble, and because written sources placed that building in the Forum. The introduction of the Basilica Aemilia here is puzzling, since no Renaissance topographer made such a suggestion. It is almost as if Ligorio had anticipated the speculation of modern scholars, who identify the Basilica of Gaius and Lucius with the Basilica Julia, but locate the Porticus of Gaius and Lucius at the southeast corner of the Basilica Aemilia.<sup>39</sup> One can only hazard the guess that Ligorio had heard rather than read such an argument.

<sup>36</sup> C. Carlucci, 'Minerva Medica, Tempio', in Steinby (ed.), *LTUR* (above, n. 4), III, 255–6; C. Martini, *Il deposito votivo del Tempio di Minerva Medica* (Rome, 1990).

<sup>37</sup> Ligorio, Oxford Codex, fol. 11v: 'Di quel tempio, il quale, è nelle exquilie, che hoggidi i moderni scrittori han discripto esser la basilica di Caio e Lucio: Il che è falsamente sententiato'. See T. Ashby, 'The Bodleian manuscript of Pirro Ligorio', *Journal of Roman Studies* 9 (1919), 177–201, for a description of the contents; but on the dating, see Vagenheim, 'Les inscriptions ligoriennes' (above, n. 8), 273–6.

<sup>38</sup> The 'modern writers' are identified in Extract 4, as Pomponio Leto, Flavio Biondo, Bartolomeo Marliani, Lucio Fauno and Lucio Mauro. However, Leto was innocent, as demonstrated by F. Rausa, 'Pomponio Leto, Pirro Ligorio e la querelle sull'edificio decagono dell'Esquilino', in *Pomponio Leto e la prima Accademia Romana. Atti della giornata di studi* (Roma, 2 dicembre 2005) (Rome, 2007), 219–35.

<sup>39</sup> C.F. Giuliani and P. Verducci, 'Basilica Julia', in Steinby (ed.), *LTUR* (above, n. 4), I, 177; D. Palombi, 'Porticus Gai et Luci', in Steinby (ed.), *LTUR* (above, n. 4), IV, 122–3. The identification of the porticus depends on the discovery of fragments of a huge inscription to Lucius Caesar in 1899 (G. Gatti, 'Notizie di recenti ritrovamenti di antichità', *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica di Roma* 18 (1899), 141–2). Nothing appears to have been known of

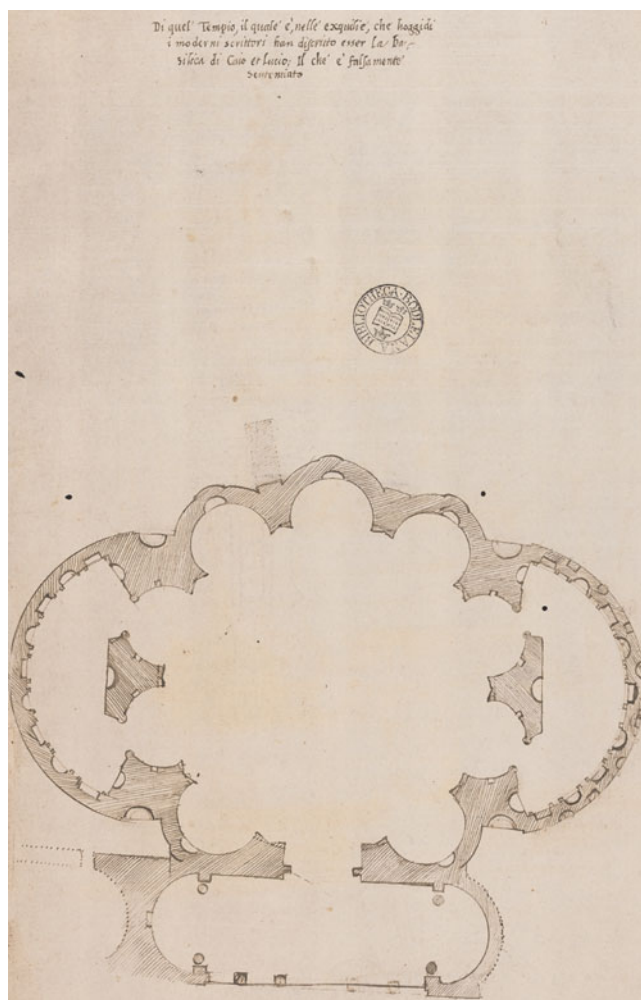


Fig. 8. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Canon. Ital. 138, fol. 10r: plan. (Reproduced by the kind permission of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.)

Ligorio appears to have introduced the next suggestion, that the pavilion was the Baths of Gordian, purely to dismiss the idea — which he did in the same sentence, promising to reveal his reasons when discussing the baths. However, Ligorio's large reconstruction of ancient Rome, the *Antequae Urbis Imago* published in 1561, shows the 'Thermae Gordianorum' as part of the pavilion

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it earlier, and no literary source links the porticus with the basilica. But Ligorio certainly seems to have been present at the excavations in front of the adjacent Temple of Antoninus and Faustina in 1546, when the Fasti Capitolini were found. The Fasti were inscribed on an arch now thought to have been the Parthian Arch of Augustus, which appears to have abutted the Porticus of Gaius and Lucius: E. Nedergaard, 'Arcus Augusti (a. 19 d.C)', in Steinby (ed.), *LTUR* (above, n. 4), I, 84. It is surprising that the inscription to Lucius was not unearthed at the same time, but if it had been it could surely not have gone unrecorded, not least by Ligorio.



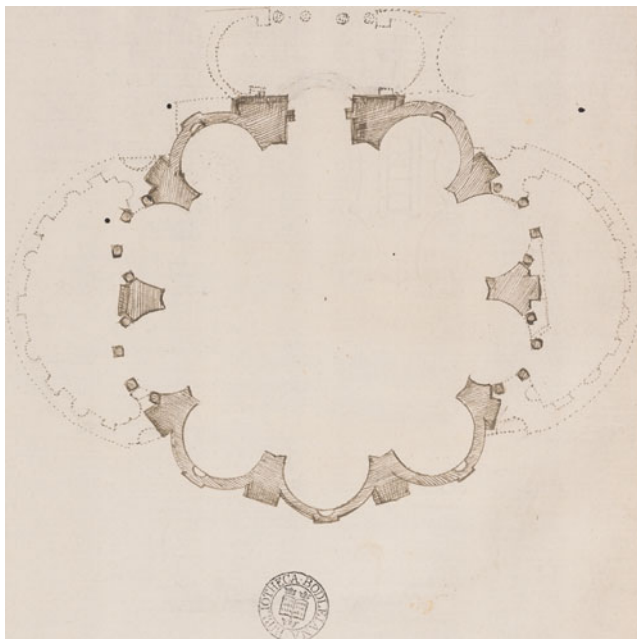


Fig. 9. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Canon. Ital. 138, fol. 10v: plan, distinguishing the original and added parts. (*Reproduced by the kind permission of The Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.*)

complex, suggesting he had second thoughts.<sup>40</sup> No other Renaissance topographer appears to have made such an identification, but he may have had in mind the general opinion first proposed by Flavio Biondo that the baths were near the church of Sant'Eusebio, about 800 m west of the pavilion (Fig. 2).<sup>41</sup>

Finally, Ligorio discussed his own candidate, uncharacteristically admitting that it was only a suggestion. He wrote that 'in simile tempio' were found two marble putti, larger than life-size, one making a cock crow, and the other strangling a cock. After their discovery, Ligorio said they were incorporated into a wall of a vineyard, opposite the Baths of Diocletian, but were later sold

<sup>40</sup> See M. Salvatore, "terme Gordiane", in B. Palma Venetucci (ed.), *Pirro Ligorio e le erme di Roma*, 2 vols (Rome, 1998), II, 148–9, fig. 155. The section of the *Imago* is reproduced in A.P. Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma*, 3 vols (Rome, 1972), II, plan XVII, plates 26–32, at pl. 28. It is also available online at <http://www.bsrdigitalcollections.it/maps.aspx> (last consulted 12.07.2011).

<sup>41</sup> Extract 1. The only antique source to refer to the baths is the *Historia Augusta*: 'Lives of the Gordians' 32.7, without giving a location. Biondo, *Roma Instaurata* (above, n. 27), II, 17, fols 18r–v. D. Palombi, 'Balnea Gordiani', in Steinby (ed.), *LTUR* (above, n. 4), I, 160, gave the reference to Biondo but mistakenly called the church Sant'Eustachio. Sant'Eusebio stands in the Piazza Vittorio Emmanuele. Palombi also referred to the finding of an inscription at Santa Sabina on the Aventine recording the restoration of the Baths of Sura by Gordian III: L. Vendittelli, 'Thermae Surae/Suranae', in Steinby (ed.), *LTUR* (above, n. 4), V, 65.

to 'Valerio from Vicenza, engraver of gems'.<sup>42</sup> 'Simile' is ambiguous, usually meaning 'similar' rather than 'same' (one would expect 'medesimo'), but Ligorio confirmed that he did mean the same, by going on to speculate whether it was called the 'Galluzze' because the putti with the cockerels ('galli') were found there, and said that a bronze figurine of a cockerel ('Galletto picolino di Bronzo') had been found there recently ('questi giorni'). Since, Ligorio continued, cockerels were sacrificed to Mars, Aesculapius and Mercury, perhaps the ruins belonged to a temple of one of these.<sup>43</sup> However, clearly he was not convinced himself, since he failed to pursue the argument, introducing, instead, one further attempt at identification, suggesting that the ruins may have belonged to the 'Ludus Matutinus', one of the four gladiatorial training schools in ancient Rome.<sup>44</sup> Thus, the Oxford Codex shows us that Ligorio was already interested both in identifying the Minerva Medica, as demonstrated by the plan of the unknown structure, and in the Esquiline pavilion, but as yet had not connected the two.

The lack of reference to the inscriptions to Gaius and Lucius, which are the decisive evidence in the *Paradosse* for disproving the traditional identity of the pavilion, allows us to date these folios securely, with most of the rest of the material in the Oxford codex, before 1553. However, by the time the *Paradosse* was published, it was out of date, since Ligorio had identified the ruins as the Minerva Medica on his first plan of Rome. The *Urbis Romae Situs* published in 1552, which shows the major ancient monuments in the context of the modern city, labelled the pavilion both 'Galluzzo' and 'T. MINERVAE MEDICAE'.<sup>45</sup> On his second plan, the smaller of his two reconstructions of ancient Rome,

<sup>42</sup> Ashby ('The Bodleian manuscript' (above, n. 37), 182) failed to note that this is obviously Valerio Belli (c. 1468–1546). After his death, Belli's collection of antiquities was sold to Cardinal Madruzzo of Trent: B. Jestaz, 'La raccolta di Valerio Belli e il collezionismo Veneto contemporaneo', in H. Burns, M. Collareta and D. Gasparatto (eds), *Valerio Belli Vicentino 1468c.–1546* (Vicenza, 2000), 161–7. Its subsequent fate is not known.

<sup>43</sup> On the sacrifice of cockerels to Aesculapius, see P. Veyne, 'Titulus praelatus': offrande, *solemnisatio*, et publicité dans les ex-voto Gréco-Romains', *Revue Archéologique* 2 (1983), 281–300, at p. 285.

<sup>44</sup> Extract 1. Again, why Ligorio should have suggested this is a mystery: the Ludus Matutinus is listed in the third region in the Regionaries rather than the fifth. Nor can the shape have been the cause. The oval plan of the Ludus Magnus was known only after the finding of fragments of the Severan marble plan of Rome behind Santi Cosmas e Damiano in 1562 (see G. Carettoni, A.M. Colini, L. Cozza and G. Gatti, *La pianta marmorea di Roma antica*, 2 vols (Rome 1960)). Ligorio's *Imago* shows the Ludus Matutinus as a long two-storey rectangular portico and the adjacent Ludus Gallicus is also rectangular (see Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma* (above, n. 40), II, pl. 26). However, Fabio Calvo, in his *Antiquae Urbis Romae cum Regionibus Simulachrum* (Rome, 1527) showed the Ludus Matutinus as a collection of buildings bounded by a circular or oval wall in his representation of Region II. P.N. Pagliara, 'La Roma antica di Fabio Calvo: tipi e stereotipi', *Psicon* 8–9 (1976), 65–88, at pp. 74–5, identified the source of Calvo's image as a partial representation of an oval walled town in the Vatican Virgil (BAV, Cod. Vat. Lat. 3225, fol. 49r).

<sup>45</sup> Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma* (above, n. 40), I, no. CXI, II, pl. 222.

published in March 1553, often called the ‘Roma piccola’, the nymphaeum was labelled simply ‘TEMPL./MINERVA/MEDICA’.<sup>46</sup> The publisher, Michele Tramezzino, advised the reader/spectator at top left that Ligorio’s *Paradosse* would appear soon. The *Paradosse* was printed in Venice, and one can only assume that production was too far advanced to incorporate Ligorio’s latest thoughts. We can also date to 1552/3 Ligorio’s original manuscript of the two versions of the antique Regionary Catalogue, the *Notitia Urbis Romae* and the *Curiosum Urbis Romae*, amplified by the interpolations of Renaissance humanists and attributed to ‘Publius Victor’ and ‘Sextus Rufus’ respectively.<sup>47</sup> Ligorio made a handsome copy of it for Fulvio Orsini, written in an *all’antica* Roman majuscule script, which is now in the Vatican Library.<sup>48</sup> There, instead of plain ‘Minerva Medica’, as occurs in the *Curiosum*, and in the quattrocento copy of ‘Sextus Rufus’ in the Vatican Library, we read ‘MINERVA MEDICA PENTHEVM’, clearly alluding to the resemblance of the stepped exterior profile of the dome to that of the Pantheon.<sup>49</sup> In 1553, Ligorio lent the original manuscript to his then friend Antonio Agustin (1516–86), who passed it on to another friend, Onofrio Panvinio (1529–68).<sup>50</sup> Panvinio published the manuscript five years later without Ligorio’s permission, and with minor emendations, such as ‘Minerva Medica Pantheum’, and thence the identification with the pavilion gradually gained general acceptance.<sup>51</sup>

## THE STATUES AND OTHER FINDS

The cause of Ligorio’s sudden leap to the conclusion that the Esquiline pavilion was the Minerva Medica is to be found in the Turin Encyclopaedia; there we read in three separate places that several statues were excavated on the site by Cosimo Giacomelli, a doctor, who owned the vineyard within which it then stood.<sup>52</sup> No precise date is given for this find, but Ligorio said that three

<sup>46</sup> Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma* (above, n. 40), I, no. XVI, II, pl. 25. Noted by Guidobaldi, ‘Il Tempio di Minerva Medica’ (above, n. 2), 487, n. 2.

<sup>47</sup> For the *Notitia* and *Curiosum*, see Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice topografico* (above, n. 28), I, 63–192. For the interpolated version, see Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice topografico* (above, n. 28), I, 193–258.

<sup>48</sup> BAV, Cod. Vat. Lat. 3427.

<sup>49</sup> Valentini and Zucchetti, *Codice topografico* (above, n. 28), I, 170, 215; BAV, Cod. Vat. Lat. 3427, fol. [21r].

<sup>50</sup> O. Panvinio, *De republica romana* (Venice, 1558), 220.

<sup>51</sup> Panvinio, *De republica romana* (above, n. 50), 235. Ligorio accused both Agustin and Panvinio of theft of his manuscript in the Turin Encyclopaedia: see H. Burns, ‘Pirro Ligorio’s reconstruction of ancient Rome: the *Antequae Urbis Imago* of 1561’, in R. Gaston (ed.), *Pirro Ligorio: Artist and Antiquarian* (Milan, 1988), 19–92, at pp. 24–5.

<sup>52</sup> See Extracts 2–4. R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, 4 vols (Rome, 1902–12), III, 159–60, published Extract 2 in part. ‘Vinea Cosmi Medici’ appears directly next to the ruins on sheet ‘T’ of Leonardo Bufalini’s 1551 plan of Rome: Frutaz, *Le piante di Roma* (above, n. 40), I, no. CIX, 4, II, pl. 193. Ligorio called Giacomelli ‘Medico’ in the *Paradosse*, fol. 40r. Giacomelli was Julius III’s

statues, those of Venus, Aesculapius and Minerva, were taken by Pope Julius III to his 'vigna' (that is, the Villa Giulia).<sup>53</sup> Julius reigned from 1550 to 1555, but it now seems reasonable to conclude that the statues were excavated in 1552, after the *Paradosse* went to press but before the two Rome plans were published.

The statues listed vary from account to account, but common to all three are a Minerva with a snake (symbol of medicine, whence the cognomen 'Medica'), other healing deities, including Aesculapius, his wife, Epiona, and their various children (seven appear in all three, another four in one or more); as well as Chiron, the teacher of Aesculapius, Apollo, father of Aesculapius, and one or more Muses.<sup>54</sup> In addition, a plan of the pavilion in one of the entries in the Turin Encyclopaedia assigns a statue to each of the alcoves and niches of the central chamber and exedrae, with Minerva in the alcove facing the entrance (Fig. 10).<sup>55</sup> It has to be said that the plan is far less accurate than those in the Bodleian Codex, suggesting that Ligorio was relying on memory rather than earlier drawings of his own or others. Two obvious errors are that the alcoves of the central chamber are alternately rectangular and semicircular, and that the exedrae are accessible only from the central chamber through single alcoves.<sup>56</sup> The bulk of Julius III's collection of antiquities at his villa was dispersed soon after his death, and no statue of Minerva, Venus or Aesculapius can be identified

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doctor: see G. Marini, *Degli architetti pontifici*, 2 vols (Rome, 1784), I, 371–4. I must admit to some unease at the happy coincidence that a statue of Minerva Medica should be discovered on the property of a 'medicus'.

<sup>53</sup> Extract 2.

<sup>54</sup> Most of the identifications Ligorio gave to the statues seem to be taken from the pages of Ligorio's treatise on 'Sacred things and the images of the pagan gods', Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples [henceforth BNN], MS XIII.B.3, which includes the following entries: 'De Minerva Medica et Salutifera' (10–11); 'De Apolline Propheta o'ver del Sole Medico' (79–81); 'De Aesculapio Medico' (285); 'De la Valetudine' (286); 'Di Salus o'vero Hygia' (286); 'Di Hiaso' (286); 'Di Calonoe o'ver Bellezza' (287); 'De Romis' (287); 'Di Plutho' (287); 'Di Panhygia' (287–8); 'Di Aesculapio et de Minerva et del Sole' (289–90); 'Di Minerva Medica et di Salus et di Aesculapio' (290–1); 'Di Aesculapio et de la Musa' (292); 'Di Chirone centauro et di Achille' (305); 'Di Philyra' (305); 'Di Podalirio' (421); 'Di Macaone' (421). It should be made clear that while Ligorio said here that the Temple of Minerva Medica was on the Esquiline (p. 10), he nowhere explicitly mentioned the decagonal pavilion or the statues found there, suggesting that the volume was written before 1552. The connections between the Minerva Medica, medicine and music were explored fully by Ligorio in his entry on music in the Turin Encyclopaedia (AST, Cod. a.III.13.J.11, fols 166r–169v, at 169v): ... [i] Medici ... con essa Musica guarirono delle infermita come se ne avanta Galeno Pergameno: et percio tenivano le Muse nel Tempio di Aesculapio et in quello di Minerva Medica'. The link was discussed by Fagiolo and Madonna 'La casina di Pio IV' (above, n. 1), 276.

<sup>55</sup> The statues named on the plan do not agree entirely with those listed in the accompanying text (see Extract 2).

<sup>56</sup> The two exedrae also only have five niches each, whereas on the three plans in the Oxford Codex (Figs 6, 8 and 9) nine are shown in each (compared to ten in the surviving north exedra), although in all cases he made them alternately rectangular and semicircular in plan rather than entirely rectangular.





as coming from the Giacomelli excavations.<sup>57</sup> However, Ligorio explicitly stated that the Aesculapius was refashioned as a male nude, and it is possible that the other two similarly were transformed beyond recognition.<sup>58</sup> The persistent error that the famous Minerva Giustiniani in the Vatican Museums was found at the pavilion dates back only to 1744, and has nothing to do with Ligorio.<sup>59</sup> Given Ligorio's own statement that the statues were broken into many pieces, there must be grave doubts about his identifications.<sup>60</sup>

Despite his inconsistencies, Ligorio's accounts are corroborated to some extent by the Roman sculptor Flaminio Vacca (1538–1605), two of whose *Memorie* record excavations in the vicinity of the pavilion.<sup>61</sup> The first was in the vineyard of Francesco Massari d'Aspra (ob. c. 1560–1), treasurer of Pope Julius III.<sup>62</sup> His vineyard was contiguous to Giacomelli's, and Ligorio located the Esquiline pavilion between the two.<sup>63</sup> The two men were also close neighbours in the Campo Marzio, appearing in consecutive entries in Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Le statue di Roma* living near ('presso') San Macuto.<sup>64</sup> Vacca recorded the finding of 'many marble statues, and bronze portraits of emperors, and a great quantity of bronze vases' that Massari gave to Pope Julius III, within the vineyard on the left-hand side of a road running between the 'Trofei di Mario', the monumental fountain identified as the *Nymphaeum Alexandri* whose ruins now stand in the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, and the Porta Maggiore.

The next *Memoria* records an excavation 'next to' ('à canto') the pavilion, where many statues were found. Two of these, a Venus and an Aesculapius, agree with Ligorio's accounts.<sup>65</sup> However, it seems Vacca cannot have been describing the same excavation as Ligorio recorded, since he said it took place

<sup>57</sup> On the dispersal, see Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi* (above, n. 52), III, 27–36; T. Falk, 'Studien zur Topographie und Geschichte der Villa Giulia in Rom', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 13 (1971), 101–78, at pp. 172–4; and D.R. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome* (Princeton, 1971), 132–3.

<sup>58</sup> Extract 2.

<sup>59</sup> F. Haskell and N. Penny, *Taste and the Antique* (New Haven/London, 1981), 269; and F. de' Ficoroni, *Le vestigie e rarità di Roma antica* (Rome, 1744), 199.

<sup>60</sup> There is a statue heavily restored as Hygeia, holding a snake, behind the nymphaeum at the Villa Giulia, whose provenance is unknown, and which may have escaped the fate of the rest of the collection; but there seem no means of proving a connection with the Esquiline pavilion.

<sup>61</sup> F. Vacca, *Memorie di varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della città di Roma scritte de Flaminio Vacca nell'anno 1594*, nos. 16 and 17, published in F. Nardini, *Roma antica*, ed. A. Nibby (Rome, 1820), 11.

<sup>62</sup> On Massari, see M.C. Giannini, 'Massari, Francesco', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* online version (<http://www.treccani.it/Portale/ricerche/searchBiografie.html>; last consulted 12.07.2011).

<sup>63</sup> Ligorio, *Paradosse* (above, n. 32), fols 39v–40r, cited at n. 32 above.

<sup>64</sup> U. Aldrovandi, *Le statue di Roma* (Venice, 1556), 256–9.

<sup>65</sup> Vacca, *Memorie di varie antichità* (above, n. 61), no. 17: 'Appresso detta Vigna vi è un Tempio antichissimo di Caio, e Lucio, per corrotto vocabolo hoggi è chiamato Galluzzi; à canto ad essa molti dopo anni vi furono trovate molto statue maggiori del natural, una Pomona di marmot nero, erano state tolte le Teste, e le mani di Bronzo, vi era un Esculapio, un'Adone, due Lupe nella guise di Bacchi, una Venere, e quel bel Fauno, ch'è nella Galleria Farnese (che già fu mio), un Ercole, e un

'many years after' the preceding one, the finds from which Massari gave to Julius III.<sup>66</sup> The very latest the second excavation could have been was 1568, because one of the statues Vacca recorded being found there was a Pomona, which has been identified as being in the Farnese collections by that year.<sup>67</sup> But it may be that when Vacca was writing around 1594 his memory played him false: Lanciani believed the Pomona, which Vacca described, to be the same as that Aldrovandi saw in Massari's house in 1556.<sup>68</sup> Again, the Faun found at the pavilion, which Vacca reported as having himself owned before passing it on to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, may be that in Giacomelli's house in 1556.<sup>69</sup> Thus it may be that the two excavations remembered by Vacca were both during the reign of Julius III.

Ligorio's statement that the statues were broken into many pieces also accords with the state of some statues found in 1879, incorporated into one of the later *opus vittatum* walls at the pavilion, although none of their subjects can be identified with those reported by Ligorio.<sup>70</sup>

Two of Ligorio's Turin accounts refer to the bronze figurines of cockerels, already mentioned in the Oxford Codex as being sacred to Aesculapius, although it is not clear if more were found with the statues in the c. 1552 excavation.<sup>71</sup> Extract 4 also reports the finding of 'alcune tabolette di rame con note d'argento, che accusava in alcune statuette di Minerva cognominata Medica', which can be translated as 'some tablets of bronze with silver lettering, which referred to Minerva surnamed Medica on some statuette'. These intriguing objects could be identified as votive plaques, if the pavilion had been a shrine as Ligorio thought. However they may have been detachable

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Antinoo, e quell più mi piacque vedere, due Accette, da una banda faceva testa, e dall'altra haveva il taglio a guise d'Alabarda ...'.

<sup>66</sup> Vacca, *Memorie di varie antichità* (above, n. 61), no. 16.

<sup>67</sup> Vacca, *Memorie di varie antichità* (above, n. 61), no. 17. The 'Pomona' has been identified as 'Aperia' at Caserta: F. Rausa, 'Marmi Farnese nel Giardino Inglese della Reggia di Caserta', *Bollettino d'Arte* 100 (1997), 33–54, at pp. 46–7; and F. Rausa, 'Le collezioni farnesiane di sculture antiche: storia e formazione', in C. Gasparri (ed.), *Le sculture Farnese I (Storia e documenti)* (Naples, 2007–), 15–80, at pp. 18 and 73, nn. 35–6.

<sup>68</sup> Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi* (above, n. 52), III, 159; Aldrovandi, *Le statue di Roma* (above, n. 64), 256.

<sup>69</sup> Aldrovandi, *Le statue di Roma* (above, n. 64), 257. On the Faun, see Rausa, 'Le collezioni farnesiane di sculture antiche' (above, n. 67), 18 and 73, n. 37. He believed it might be the statue now in London (British Museum, inv. 1864.10-2-21.1). Rausa (pers. comm.) also shares my suspicion that the two 'Lupe[rcali] nelle guisa di Bacchi' recorded by Vacca may be the statues of satyrs picking grapes now at Naples (Museo Archeologico, inv. 6331–2): R. Vincent, 'Les antiques', in Ecole Française de Rome, *Le Palais Farnèse*, 3 vols (Rome, 1980–1), II, 322–51, at p. 350.

<sup>70</sup> On the wall, see Coates-Stephens, 'Muri di bassi secoli in Rome' (above, n. 7), 222–5. On the statues, see Cima, 'Gli Horti Liciniani', in Cima and La Rocca, *Horti romani* (above, n. 4), 443–50; M. Bertolotti, M. Cima and E. Talamo, *Sculture di Roma antica: collezioni dei Musei Capitolini alla Centrale Montemartini* (Milan, 1999), 188; Cima, 'Horti Liciniani', in Ensoli and La Rocca, *Aurea Roma* (above, n. 4), 102–3.

<sup>71</sup> Extracts 3 and 4.

*tituli* hanging on statues to identify them, like that which Suetonius recorded ominously falling off a statue of Domitian into a tomb, or bronze plates attached to the front of a statue base.<sup>72</sup>

Strangely, Ligorio omitted to mention in any of the three Turin accounts two further pieces of supporting evidence in the shape of two inscriptions to Minerva Medica, both of which he recorded elsewhere in the encyclopaedia. One was found in the *vigna* of Giacomelli, and the other 'on the Esquiline' by Massari, presumably in his contiguous *vigna*.<sup>73</sup>

## THE *SCHOLA MEDICORUM*

Given the wealth of apparent evidence, it is now clear why Ligorio was misled into identifying the Esquiline pavilion with the Minerva Medica of the Regionary Catalogue. However, Ligorio added one further piece of information, which raises more questions than it answers, by claiming that the pavilion was built by the Emperor Antoninus Pius, with the temple in the central chamber, and a guild of doctors ('Schola Medicorum') occupying the exedrae, citing as evidence a medal or coin and the 'Life' of Antoninus Pius.<sup>74</sup> The obvious first place to look is in the four volumes, again in Turin, and again compiled during his time in Ferrara, in which Ligorio wrote the lives of the most prominent Romans, illustrated with drawings of coins and medals. However, nothing in the Turin biography of Antoninus Pius appears to pertain to the Minerva Medica or the 'Schola Medicorum'.<sup>75</sup> Instead, in an earlier version of the biography, in the collection of Ligorian manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples (which Ligorio sold to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in 1567), is a drawing of the reverse of a coin, with the legend 'MINERVA MEDICA S.C.' and showing Minerva standing with a spear in her left hand and a patera in her right, next to which a snake is curled around a candelabrum (Fig. 11). The obverse is not

<sup>72</sup> Extract 4. Veyne, "Titulus praelatus" (above, n. 43), 289, referred to the use of bronze plaquettes as *ex-voto* offerings to Aesculapius. See Suetonius, *Domitian* 18.2 for the story of the detachable *titulus*. For bronze plates on pedestals, see J. Fejfer, *Roman Portraits in Context* (Berlin/New York, 2008), 25–6.

<sup>73</sup> AST, Cod. a.II.2.J.15, fol. 48r: 'trovata da Francesco d'Aspra et trasportata dall'Esquiline ne la casa sua a san Mauto', and Cod. a.III.13.J.11, fol. 34v: '... trovato nelle Esquiline nella vigna di Iacomelli'. Both inscriptions are included among the Ligorian *falsae*, in *CIL* VI 5 566\* and 567\*. The fact that Ligorio made no attempt to use them to bolster his arguments in identifying the pavilion demonstrates that he had no axe to grind by recording them, which makes one wonder why he would bother forging them.

<sup>74</sup> Extract 2. Besides the associations with medicine of the statues, the shape of the exedrae may have influenced Ligorio's locating the *Schola* here: in the Turin Encyclopaedia, under the entry 'Cyclei', he associated round buildings with good health and said that doctors were among those who chose to meet in such places, which they dedicated to Apollo, Aesculapius and the latter's daughters: AST, Cod. a.III.8.J.6, fol. 160r (old foliation 161r); cited in Fagiolo and Madonna, 'La casina di Pio IV' (above, n. 1), 224.

<sup>75</sup> AST, Cod. a.II.8.J.21, fols 89r–106v.





Fig. 11. Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, MS XIII.B.6, fol. 166v: reverse of coin showing Minerva Medica. (*Reproduced by the kind permission of the Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Italia. No further reproduction allowed.*)

drawn. The accompanying text says that the temple stood in the Esquiline region and was perhaps built by Antoninus Pius, without any detail to link it specifically to the Esquiline pavilion, suggesting that the manuscript dates from before the excavation of 1552/3, which is consistent with the dating of others of Ligorio's Neapolitan codices.<sup>76</sup> The only problem is that Ligorio is the only source for the coin, and he is known frequently to have fabricated numismatic evidence to support his own arguments.<sup>77</sup> In the absence of corroboration, we are forced to conclude that he acted similarly here, combining elements of genuine similar types to create something plausible. The exact legend given by Ligorio never occurs, but for the figure the closest type seems to be a Hadrianic issue where Minerva stands in a similar pose, pouring incense on to a candelabrum, but where the snake appears on the shield on which her left hand rests.<sup>78</sup> Other types show her with a patera or with her left arm raised, but never with all these elements together.

Ligorio may not have relied solely on images of Minerva for his invented coin, but probably also had in mind representations of Salus, the Roman goddess of health. Marcus Aurelius issued several coins with a reverse showing Salus standing, with a patera in her right hand, feeding a snake coiled round an altar, while holding a sceptre vertical in her left, and this was drawn by Ligorio in both the Neapolitan and Turin codices.<sup>79</sup> He may have felt justified in using a

<sup>76</sup> BNN, Cod. XIII.B.6, fol. 166v: '... Il Tempio di questa Dea fù à Roma nella regione Esquilina, second scrive Publio Vittore, il quale, forse, edificò Antonino Pio'. On the Naples manuscripts, see Vagenheim, 'Les inscriptions ligoriennes' (above, n. 8), 266–70.

<sup>77</sup> I. Campbell, 'Pirro Ligorio and the temples of Rome on coins', in Gaston, *Pirro Ligorio* (above, n. 51), 93–121.

<sup>78</sup> H. Mattingly and R. Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, 6 vols (reprinted London, 1962–8), III, 424, plates 80.2 and 3.

<sup>79</sup> BNN, Cod. XIII.B.6, fol. 176r and AST, Cod. A.II.8.J.21, fol. 281v: in both cases the reverse legend differs slightly from the British Museum examples: for example, Mattingly and Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire* (above, n. 78), IV.1, 493, IV.2, pl. 68.9. The obverse legend reads ANTONINVS AVG, which Ligorio could have confused with Antoninus Pius, although Ligorio wrote about the confusion of the two in the *Paradosse* (above, n. 32), fols 424–42v, in the chapter headed 'Della Colonna Antoniana'.

representation of Salus to 'reconstruct' an image of Minerva Medica, because he believed that they were alternative names for the same goddess.<sup>80</sup> The fact that the coinage of Antoninus Pius is marked by a large number of strikings in honour of Minerva and Salus may have helped Ligorio to infer that Antoninus Pius founded the Minerva Medica. No other evidence in his two biographies of Antoninus, nor anything in antique literary sources, would appear to lead one to that conclusion. There is a passage in the Life of Lucius Verus, attributed to Julius Capitolinus, in the *Historia Augusta*, where Verus and Marcus Aurelius were granted the title 'Medicus'.<sup>81</sup> However, in this case 'Medicus' has nothing to do with medicine, but refers to the Roman victory over the Medes. This is perfectly clear from the context, which mentions the bestowal for similar reasons of the titles 'Armeniacus' and 'Parthicus' on the co-emperors.<sup>82</sup> It is true that the *Historia Augusta* was one of the few major Latin classics not translated into Italian in the sixteenth century, but it surely is inconceivable that Ligorio could have made such a basic mistake. If he did, it would mean that Antonio Agustín's famous claim that Ligorio knew no Latin would have to be re-examined, but that is another argument and cannot be pursued here.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>80</sup> BNN, Cod. XIII.B.3, p. 10:

DE MINERVA MEDICA ET SALUTIFERA

'Minerva fu cognominata Medica, a cui Antonino Pio dedicò il Tempio in Roma nell'Esquilie ... Questa Dea i latini chiamarono, come è nelle medaglie, Virtus, Salus Invitta, et Minerva Pacifera et Medica ...' ('Minerva was surnamed Medica, to whom Antoninus Pius dedicated the temple in Rome on the Esquiline ... This goddess the Latins called, as it is in the coins, 'Virtue', 'Unconquered Health', and Minerva Peacemaker and Doctor'): Fagiolo and Madonna in 'La casina di Pio IV' (above, n. 1), 275. Ligorio also made the more usual identification of Salus with the Greek goddess Hygieia, daughter of Aesculapius, in the same manuscript (BNN, Cod. XIII. B.3, p. 286), and referred to three reliefs of Aesculapius, Salus and Minerva Medica, which he said were found at San Gregorio Magno on the Caelian (BNN, Cod. XIII.B.3, p. 290).

<sup>81</sup> *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Verus 7.2: The Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, ed. and trans. D. Magie (London/New York, 1922), 220–1: 'Antiocham postquam [Verus] venit, ipse quidem se luxuriae deditit. duces autem confecerunt Parthicum bellum, Statius Priscus, et Avidius Cassius et Martius Verus per quadrennium pervenirent et Armeniam vindicarent. partumque ipsi nomen est Armeniaci, Parthici, Medici. Quod etiam Marco Romae agenti delatum est'.

A coin with the legend L VERVS AVG ARM PARTH MAX MEDIC was struck in commemoration of the victory with Marcus Aurelius and Verus in a *quadriga* on the reverse (Mattingly and Carson, *Coins of the Roman Empire* (above, n. 78), IV.1, 597) but it does not appear in Ligorio's manuscripts, although he did record several examples of the commoner types of Marcus Aurelius and Verus with only 'ARM' and 'PARTH' in the legends, for example: BNN, Cod. XII.B.6, fols 199v and 202r, and AST, Cod. a.II.8.J.21, fol. 127r.

<sup>82</sup> *Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Verus 7.2.*

<sup>83</sup> A. Agustín, *Dialogos das Medallas Antiquitatum Romanarum Hispanarumque in Nummis Veterum Dialogi XI. Hispano Sermone cum Latina Interpretatione Andreae Schotti Antverpensis* (Lucca, 1774), 68: '... he (sic) visto ciertos debuxos da Pyrrho Ligori Napolitano, conocido mio gran antiquario, y pintor, el qual sin saber Latin ha escrito mas de quarenta libros da medallas, y edificios, y de otras cosas'. The *Dialogos* were first published in Tarragona in 1587. Robert Gaston examined the question of Ligorio's competence in Greek and Latin and the use he may have made of Italian translations of the classics, and, in their absence, the occasional help of other scholars in 'Ligorio on rivers and fountains: prolegomena to a study of Naples XIII.B.9', in

Even if one accepts the above explanation for Ligorio linking Antoninus Pius to the pavilion, it still fails to explain the reference to the ‘Schola Medicorum’. The existence of some sort of a building housing a college or guild of doctors depends largely on a handful of literary and epigraphic references, and the consensus for its location is somewhere on or near the Velia.<sup>84</sup> Funerary inscriptions refer to one subject as ‘scribe of the doctors’ and two as decurions of the doctors, one of whom undertook restoration works in the *Schola*.<sup>85</sup> Two other inscriptions are on statue bases and read ‘Translata de Schola Medicorum’, indicating that they were moved from the guild’s meeting-place. Although the antiquity of these latter inscriptions recently has been questioned, the formula is consistent with other examples of moved statues and there seems no compelling reason to doubt the authenticity of at least one of them (*CIL* VI 29805).<sup>86</sup> As for the connection with Antoninus Pius, one wonders whether Ligorio already knew *CIL* VI 10234, otherwise first recorded in the seventeenth century in the gardens of the Palazzo Barberini. The inscription pertains to a funerary college dedicated to Aesculapius and Hygeia, and mentions Antoninus Pius by name. Although it says that the college was located between the first and second milestones on the Via Appia, Ligorio, if he knew of it, may have linked it to the *Schola* inside the city.

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Gaston, *Pirro Ligorio* (above, n. 51), 159–208, at pp. 161–4. He also showed that Ligorio cited Julius Capitolinus (Gaston, ‘Ligorio on rivers’ (above), 163, 193 n. 18).

<sup>84</sup> See D. Palombi, ‘Medici e medicina a Roma tra Carine, Velia e Sacra Via’, in H. Brandenburg, S. Heid and C. Marksches (eds), *Salute e guarigione nella tarda antichità: atti della giornata tematica dei seminari di archeologia cristiana* (Roma, 20 maggio 2004) (Vatican City, 2007), 54–78, at pp. 72–4; and R. Meneghini, A. Corsaro and B. Pinna Caboni, ‘Il *Templum Pacis* alla luce dei recenti scavi’, in F. Coarelli (ed.), *Divus Vespasianus: il bimillenario dei Flavi* (Milan, 2009), 190–201, at p. 196.

<sup>85</sup> *CIL* VI 3984 and 9566, *IGUR* 30 and 1673. All cited by Palombi, ‘Medici e medicina’ (above, n. 84), 73. Another reference to a ‘tabularius’ of the ‘Schola Medicorum’ is unfortunately among the Ligorian *falsae* (*CIL* VI 978\*). It is found in BNN, Cod. XIII.B.8, fol. 225v, published by S. Orlandi, *Libro delle iscrizioni dei sepolcri antichi* (Rome, 2009), 302. Ligorio reported finding it in a columbarium on the Via Ardeatina near San Sebastiano fuori le Mura; however, the last line is inconsistent with a columbarium inscription and must have been interpolated, preventing us from revisiting the question of its authenticity (S. Orlandi, pers. comm.). J.-M. Agasse, ‘Girolamo Mercuriale — humanism and physical culture in the Renaissance’, in G. Mercuriale, *De arte gymnastica* (Florence, 2008), 861–1,110, at p. 1,002, relying on Mercuriale’s statement that the inscription was found at San Sebastiano (see p. 56), wrongly has speculated that the church was San Sebastiano in Pallara, on the Palatine.

<sup>86</sup> In ‘Schola Medicorum’ (above, n. 6), 254, Emanuele Papi used the epigraphic evidence to argue for the existence of the guild, but Giandomenico Spinola in an addendum (‘Schola Medicorum’, *LTUR*, V, 287–8) argued that the ‘translata de Schola Medicorum’ inscription on a base in the Villa Wolkonsky is modern, and that the other occurrence, on the base of the Mattei Amazon in the Vatican Museums (*CIL* VI 29805), also could be modern. Subsequently, however, Spinola (*Il Museo Pio-Clementino*, 3 vols (Vatican City, 1996–2004), III, 48–9, and III, 481–3, GS 59) became more open to the question of the possible antiquity of *CIL* VI 29805. On other occurrences of ‘translata’ in the moving of statues, see C. Lepelley, ‘Le musée des statues divines: la volonté de sauvegarder le patrimoine artistique païen à l’époque théodosienne’, *Cahiers Archéologiques* 42 (1994), 5–14, at pp. 10–11.

Ligorio's achievement in single-handedly overturning Flavio Biondo's name for the Esquiline pavilion, the Basilica of Gaius and Lucius, which had been accepted by scholars for over a century, and giving it a name that survives to this day, was accomplished by challenging the overreliance of topographers on the orthodox method of etymological explanation. His argument for rejecting the traditional name was based largely on the form of the pavilion, but he was able to substitute a new name with confidence only after the excavation of statues in 1552/3, which allowed him to argue that the pavilion was the Minerva Medica listed in the antique Regionary Catalogue. What is not clear is why he wanted to link the Minerva Medica with Antoninus Pius and his sources of information for the *Schola Medicorum*. The suggestion that Ligorio made the inference from numismatic evidence of Antoninus's interest in Minerva and Salus, and foreknowledge of an inscription first recorded in the seventeenth century, must be regarded as hypotheses to be modified should further evidence come to light.

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## APPENDIX. EXTRACTS FROM PIRRO LIGORIO'S MANUSCRIPTS ON THE ESQUILINE PAVILION<sup>87</sup>

EXTRACT 1. BODLEIAN LIBRARY, OXFORD, MS CANON. ITAL. 138,  
FOLS 26R–V (Figs 5 and 6)

### *Tempio di Esculapio over d'altri dei*

Questa pianta è in Roma tra porta San Lorenzo et porta Maggiore. Gli scrittori moderni non riguardando le ragioni che si dovrebbero [sic] considerare in far iudicio d' [sic] così fatte cose, ingannati dal nome, che volgarmente si chiama le Galluzze, han creduto esser la Basilica di Caio et di Lucio. Noi che non discompagnamo punto li pareri et conietture nostre da le ragioni di buoni scrittori, non discostandoci da le regole d' Architettura, o dal autorità di Vitruvio, diciamo, che facendosi le basiliche di forma quadrata con portichi intorno per regola osservata ella non può esser basilica, et che la forma istessa di quello edificio, qual è di diece angoli, mostra ben chiaro l'errore di coloro che l'han così chiamata, onde con più ragionevoli considerationi siamo in opinione che fosse tempio, ma à chi dedicato non sappiamo. Questa ragion di architettura mi pare che debba valere, nondimeno non lasciarò dire. Scrive Plinio che la Basilica di Lucio Paulo havea le colonne di marmo Frigio et secondo questa authorità non si può dire che questa fusse quella perchè non havea Colonne così celebrate. Et non ho voluto restare

<sup>87</sup> Some capitalization, punctuation and accents have been added or altered for the purposes of clarification.



di porve l'authorità di Papinio, il quale dice che la regia di Paulo era nel foro romano, pur sia come si vuole non è basilica. L'edificio hoggi si vede assai intiero et è coperto. La pianta era solo di diece angoli, ma per le molte aperture, cominciandosi à ruinare, si vede ch'essa fu ristaurata, et giontovi una fod[e]ra da la parte di fuori et oltre vi feceno di più le parti segnate. A. L'ornamenti di nicchi della parte aggiunta, erano ornati da la parte di fuori come à quella di dentro di essa giunta et ciò ne mostra apertamente l'istesso edificio. Le cornici che ornavano i detti nicchi le mostreremo signate. A.B. nella seguente faccie. Le colon[n]ette di essi nicchi erano di granito bianco schizzati di nero, et parte di esso erano di porfido. La parte del tempio di fuori nella seguente carta è segnata. B.T. La parte di dentro. R. era tutto ornato di nicchi, con molta diligenza. La pianta è misurata col piede. Questo tempio è vicino anzi è richiuso da molte reliquie d'altri edifici intorno quasi à guisa di terme si fa indicio da molti che fussero le Terme di Gordiano, il che non credo, le ragioni si dirrà al suo luoco. Per la molta varietà di edifici che vi sono, et per la ruina di essi non si può stabilirle loco certo che cosa si fusse et in ciò lasciamo libero ad altrui il veder quel che / (fol. 26v) / più le mostrerà l'apparenza del vero. Non restarò dire che in simile tempio vi furono trovati certi putti di marmo grandi del naturale de quali l'uno faceva cantar un gallo et l'altro il strangolava, i q[u]ali putti sono stati un tempo murati in uno muro d'una vigna discontro le terme di Dioclitiano et poi venduti da Antonio de le medaglie ò ver anticario, a Valerio Vicentino intagliatore di gioie et li portò in Vicenza (questo avvenne per la trascuragine et avaritia de i Romani per che nisciuno ardì comprarli). Non so si per caso fusse questo luogo chiamato le Galluzze per li putti co i Galli che vi furono levati, et questi giorni nel farvi fare la fratta dintorno, vi fu trovato un altro galletto, piccolino di bronzo. Et per avventura questo tempio può esser di Marte o di Esculapio, o Mercurio per che à cotali dei se sacrificava il gallo. Non è male à porvi quest'altra opinione, che cotal tempio fusse un ludo matutino, ove si esercitavano in alcuni giuochi, pur sia come si voglia.

EXTRACT 2. ARCHIVIO DI STATO, TURIN, COD. A.III.12.J.10,  
FOLS 136V–137R

Templum Minervae Medicae, altramente detto Pantheum. Fu dove oggidì è detto l'edificio delle Galluzze, di forma decagona, vicino de la via Praenestina, à man sinistra, nell'andare alla porta chiamata Maggiore della città, come si vede nel disegno impiedi posto nella Roma stampata. Lo quale tempio i moderni scrittori tirati dalla poca diligenza l[']hanno posto per la Basilica di Caio e di Lucio, lo quale era nel Foro Boario, talché l'hanno poste le cose dell'oriente nell'occidentale sito della città, ma per tacere le loro sciocchezze. Diremo come Antonino Pio fu l'autore d'esso tempio, come si trova nella medaglia e nella sua vita, e quivi fu accanto la Schola de Medici, cioè SCHOLA MEDICORUM, dalla quale fu tolta la imagine di Aesculapio e posta nell'atrio Palatino da Marco Comodo imperatore. Ora delle cose ch'erano dedicate in questo tempio si sono vedute le imagini rotte à minuttuoli, et trovate da messer Cosmo Medico Iacomelli: et quantunque fussero rottissime, chi avea ingegno poteva conoscere la condizione delle cose, e per li nomi d'alcune scritti. Perciò che vi fu la imagine di Chirone, quella di Apolline, et di Aesculapio primi inventori dell i medicamenti. Vi era la imagine di Minerva col suo dracone, animale perspicace et sano. Vi erano sei imagine delle Figliuole di Aesculapio chiamate IASO; HYGEIA; ROME; CALONOE; PLVTO; PANHYGEIA; figliole del deto et di Epione. Altramente ΙΑΣΟ, ΎΓΕΙΑ, ΑΚΗΕΩ, ΕΓΛΕ, ΠΛΟΥΤΩ, ΡΩΜΗ, ΠΑΝΥΓΕΙΑ, che sono nomi che suonano i sei predicamenti della Medicina ... Vi era Venere pe[r] la Naturalità ... Vi era la imagine della Musa per la osservanza della palpetatione et pulsatione, della parti della

consonantia et compositione delle parti, come s'hanno a curare i corpi, secondo le stagione ... come è detto nelle imagini delle Medaglie dell'imperatore, ma ora qui per breuita porremo la pianta del Tempio, et il resto de nomi delle cose trovate malamente trattate ch'era un monte di rovine: della imagine del Sole di Venere e di Epiona et dell'altre essendo poste insieme la Venere, quantunque fusse de molti pezzi, et quella di Aesculapio, et quella della Minerva, si vedeva ch'esse cosi fragmentate una bella maestria: et cosi si guaste l'hebbe papa Iulio terzo et quella d'Aesculapio per fare una figura nuda per accompagnare l'altre cose della sua vigna la fece spogliare de su vestimenti et ridurla d'unaltro suo concetto. Furonvi ancora trovate Quattro colonne di Marmo antico Verde ch'erano locate nelle due entrate dell'Hemicycli, et quelle colonnette che ornavano i cinque nicchi à destra et cinque à sinistra, ch'erano del marmo Giallo venate di macchie rosse dell'isola di Charysto lavorate striate intraverso dell'ordine Corinthio tutti tritate dalle roture/ (**fol. 137r**) / *SCHOLA MEDICORUM*, come è sudetto fù davante al Tempio di Minerva Medica, anzi attorno al Tempio percio che esso havea piazza d'ogni lato, et d'intorno havea i deambulatorii ...

### EXTRACT 3. ARCHIVIO DI STATO, TURIN, COD.A.II.3.J.16, FOL. 81R

*SCHOLA MEDICORUM*, ò come vogliamo dire scuola di Medici, fù notabilissimo et insigne luogo di Roma nella parte Esquilinia maraviglioso situato intra la Via Praenestina et la Tiburtina, edificio del grande Antoninio Augusto Pio, lo quale imperatore l'ornò di edificiï attorno con uno tempio nel mezzo di forma deacona [sic] grande et bello dedicato alla Minerva Medica. Et nelli fianchi d'esso tempio attorno à destra et à sinistra, erano duoi grandi hemicycli, molto ornati ch'erano due cavee di theatri come per duoi ricetti della Chirurgia; et della Phisica. Ma il corpo del Tempio d'erano di dentro quattro altri nicchioni, luoghi da poterve usare delle cose che si ricercano, nell'attione de Medici, ove si leggeva. Et si faceva i collegi sopra del trattato della medicina de suoi predicamenti. Et principalmente per forma e per norma, et per significato, v'erano nelli nicchi ò celle dedicate le figure, e statue, che significavano l'imagini et iddee delli sensi delle cause che si deono osservare per le quail significavano la sapientia et dottrina. Onde vi era la statua di Minerva Medica ... Aesculapio, Apolline suo padre, primi medici tra mortali ..., Chirone, la Musa con la cythara et altre figure. Con Aesculapio, ch'erano sei figliuole chiamate Iaso, Hygia, Rome, Calonohe, Plutho, et Panhygia ... Le quali figure erano tutte in questa Scuola de Medici, che sono state trovate tutte rotte et fragmentate asprissimamente dalla crudelta usate da barbari nelle barbariche rovine. Et erano alcune statue d'Aesculapio appoggiate con la Musa, altre [sic] con una de le sue figliuole con Iaso, ò con Hygia chè Salus e Valitudine. Vi era quella di Aegle. Et Chyrone con Aesculapio, Phyllira, quella di Macaone eet di Podalivio figliuoli di Aesculapio, quella d'Epione moglie di Aesculapio, et Aceseo settima sua figliuola. Li quali framenti, trovo l'Eccellente Cosmo Iacomelli Medico, che quivi havea la sua vigna, in questo luogo chiamato dal vulgo Le Galluzze, dalli galli vi son stati trovati picciolini di bronzo ch'erano come per i voti quivi dedicati ad'Aesculapio et alla Vigilantia.

### EXTRACT 4. ARCHIVIO DI STATO, TURIN, COD. A.II.4.J.17, FOLS 56V–57R

Il Temp[io] et pantheon di Minerva Medica / (**fol. 57r**) / fù d'ordine rotondo decagono, ad ogni faccia erano grandissimi nicchioni ò delubri delle statue, ornate di alcune colonne

composito intorno alcuni nicchi piccioli di marmo mischio verde e bianco, variate ove erano le statue di Minerva, di Apollo di Chirone, di Aesculapio, delle figliuole di Epiona moglie di Aesculapio, con le sue gente chiamate Iaso, Hygia, Rome, Aceso Calonoli, Pluto, Panhygia, et vi erano in due luoghi fonti artificiosi et fu edificio d'Antonino Pio Augusto. Et allato vi era la Schola de Medici. Lo qual tempio, gli moderni scrittori, come Pomponio Leto, il Blonde da Furlì, lo Marliano et Fauno et Mauro l'hanno preso per la Basilica di Caio e di Lucio, con grossissimo equivoco, perché il vulgo lo chiama le Galluzze, perché vi sono trovati di galletti delli voti che si davano del gallo al Sole et à Aesculapio Medico. Et vi fu trovata la statua di Venere et quelle delle Muse, tutte rovinate et peste, facendovi cavare Cosimo Iacomelli medico e padrone del luogo, et vi furono trovate alcune tabolette di rame con note d'argento che accusava in alcune statuette di Minerva cognominata Medica.